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The Three Paths

three attitudes which we as individual Americans can assume toward her.

The first would demand revenge. The second would treat her with sentimental tenderness.

The third would seek justice.

our hearts and minds. The mean of justhe one hope of peace and right and progress.

finer emotion. Brute, blinding anger and hate are the springs of a desire for revenge. If we gave way to these primiin Germany as German soldiers mur-German nation. By so yielding we of law and right and for the protection of the weak in a chaos of brutality. We should indeed sink ourselves to the level

The other extreme is based on a mass of soft emotions that are fine or foolish, according as they are or are not devoted to right and controlled by intelligence. The parallel is complete. Anger and hate are fine and true and ennobling when they are righteous and unselfish. They are part, and an important part, of every stalwart right-doer. It is only when they reach the point of blind rage and extinguish reason and the sense of right and wrong that they become evil. So with pity and kindness and tenderness and mercy. They are part and parcel of our finest civilization. But when they envelop and dissolve all other into the reorganized German Empire emotions and all thought and reduce a human being to a quivering, shuddering, non-resistant they become a positive

You can observe these two extremes in the bringing up of children, in the punishment of criminals. The angry, cruel parent harms irretrievably both himself and his victim. The too lenient, sentimentalizing parent, who is too tender hearted to rebuke or control or punish, does surely not less harm. We have abandoned our old prison methods because they were destructive and brutal. But there is another extreme, equally dangerous, in which the sentimental and kind-hearted person shuts eyes to the facts and would treat the criminal as a of all reform and to the very great peril

of the community. Justice, the golden mean, is no easy road to travel. It means a vastly complicated decision, based on a clear knowledge of the facts, doing right by all concerned, community as well as criminal. It demands patience, resolution, wisdom. In the case of Germany it means first of all insuring, so far as possible, the safety of the world against a repetition of German crimes, by either Germans or others. For this there must be punishment, both for the education of the German heart and as a warning to others. To let Germany now go scot free and to welcome her at once back into the family of nations as an equal would be to commit the same sort of error which the weak, foolshly tender mother commits when she refuses to punish her child who does something positively dangerous to other children. If we are wise and just we shall bring home the enormity of German crimes against civilization by the very homely and normal method that every parent uses of making Germany repair, so far as possible, the damage she has done. We shall then hold her a prisoner of civilization for a period of probation. Such a sentence must necessarily be indeterminate. It may not in the peace conference. operate equally against all the Central Powers. Time alone can tell.

There is no real quarrel between the punishment due the world for its protection and the punishment due to Germany for her salvation. Save in a world of revenge the goal is identical in each. We must reform Germany, if we can, for the good of the world as well as for her own good. We cannot possibly re- 057,930. They constitute about two-

form her by dissolving in tears and act- fifths of the territory of Austria-Huning as if black were white, and persuading her by our maudlin loving kindness that murder and rape and faithlessness

are peccadilloes not worth mentioning. We must learn to forgive Germany and the German people lest rancor and blind hatred warp our minds and vindictiveness destroy the possibility of peace. We must equally never forget what Germany has done. We must devote our best wisdom and patience to the task of punishing her resolutely and fairly that her people may see their sin and turn from it.

Let Germany Try Him First!

The new Socialist government in Berlin is being urged to arrest Admiral von Tirpitz, Major General Keim and variother leaders of the Pan-German Fatherland party. Tirpitz was one of the chief architects of German disaster. His submarine policy was the direct cause of bringing the United States into the war, thus making German defeat inevitable.

The German people are justified in demanding a reckoning with those who betrayed them into humiliation and misery. And if that reckoning is to be had, why stop anywhere half way along the line of responsibility? Why not go all

The late Kaiser is either interned in Holland as a prisoner of war or he has fled there as a German citizen trying to escape accountability to his countrymen. If he is an interned officer he must be sent back to Germany as soon as the Al-There are three ways in which the lies permit the repatriation of German Allies can treat Germany. There are prisoners. If he is only a private citizen the government in Berlin has now a right to extradite him on criminal

There has been a good deal of talk of trying the ex-Kaiser in the British or in other Allied criminal courts. But Hol-The two extremes we conceive to be land would not be justified under the law equally dangerous, equally irrational, of nations in honoring a writ of extraequally destructive of the finer stuff of dition running against him, if presented by a government in whose jurisdiction tice, difficult as it is to cleave to, holds | he has never been. To seize him in neutral territory and then try him by court martial would be a ticklish and Alike in the spirit of revenge and in embarrassing procedure. Napoleon I the mushiness of sentimental tenderness, seized the Duc d'Enghien under some easy feeling blots out reason and all what similar circumstances, and history has severely condemned that act of violence as a breach of civilized conduct.

It would save trouble and after retive emotions we should demand an eye grets if the German people should be for an eye, we should murder and rape permitted to pass first on their former ruler's crimes against them and against dered and raped in France and Belgium. humanity. They are not likely to be We should dismember and enslave the over-tender. A demand on their part, backed up by the Allied powers, would should end a war begun in the defence | certainly induce Holland to surrender his person. If he escaped punishment at home an adequate disposition of his case could be made at the peace conference. The European powers banished Napoleon I-once to Elba and then to St. Helena. William II cannot dodge his fate. But it would be something in the line of poetic justice to give Germany a chance at him first.

German Austria's Future

The new state of German Austria is losing no time trying to get its bearings in the making over of Central Europe. The abdication of the Emperor Charles -a superfluous formality-has been followed by a declaration looking to the incorporation of German-speaking Austria

Austria was thrust out of the Germ circle at Sadowa, where, according to some authorities, the Prussian needlegun triumphed, or, according to others, the Prussian schoolmaster. The Sixty-Days' War in 1866 ended Austrian hegemony in the German world. Prussia assumed the leadership and thereafter exercised it with a ruthless vigor which in two generations Prussianized the modern German Empire.

German Austria is left a small, weak state, surrounded on three sides by other fragments of the Dua! Monarchy, hostile to her in interests and estranged from her by language and culture. She wants to go back into the German fold for protection and sympathy. It is natort of martyred here, to the destruction ural that she should want to. And it is natural that the German states should welcome her. When she was thrust out by violence she was a great non-German power, trying to use the Germanic Confederation in order to promote her own aims and to strengthen her position in Italy, in the Balkans and in the basin of the Black Sea. Her policy of penetration followed the Danube. Now she asks to come back as a German remnant, stripped of power over other races and cured of

imperialistic pretensions and ambitions. A reunion of German Austria with the other German states would be a cause for gratification both in Vienna and in Berlin. But it is a project which the Allied powers cannot afford to countenance. It would in a measure compensate Germany for defeat. The acquisttion of Austria has always been a conspicuous feature of the pan-German programme. In swallowing German Austria the pan-Germans also intended to swallow the Slav, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Hungarian, Italian and Rumanian segments of the Dual Monarchy. Yet German Austria alone would be something of a tid-bit to a broken and defeated Germany. In territory and population German Austria would more than offset similar losses which Germany now faces

German Austria includes the provinces of Lower Austria, Upper Austria. Salzburg, the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Some of these provinces have non-German minorities. But they are strongly German as a whole. They have together an area of 42,857 square miles and a population (according to the 1910 census) of 8.

gary and about one-fourth of its population. Some deduction must, of course, be made for the Trentino section of the Tyrol, which will be transferred to Italy.

Germany has lost Alsace-Lorraine. She may lose Posen and all, or a part, of West Prussia. She may also lose all, or a part, of Schleswig-Holstein. But should she be obliged to cede all these provinces she would be giving up only 33,997 square miles of territory and a population of only 5,759,743. She would be a gainer on the face of the exchange. Her military strength would also be increased much more than the statistical comparisons indicate. For she would acquire a thoroughly loyal population of about 8,000,000, while ridding herself of less than 6,000,000 recalcitrant Alsace-Lorrainers, Poles and Danes.

The Allied powers can therefore hardly look with favor on the reincorporation of German Austria into the present German structure. The creation of a South German confederacy, with Austria as a member, would be a much more satisfactory solution. The Austrian Germans, the Bavarians, the Saxons and the people of Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse and Hanover have no reason to love the Prussians. Prussia's rule inside Germany, as well as outside, has been one of blood and iron. The South Germans are not by nature predatory. They could readily form a peaceful, progressive nation were they released from Prussia's baneful influence.

The Rhine countries have always preferred Austria to Prussia. And Austria, now reduced in power, could not dominate a South German confederation as she used to do before Sadowa. The southern confederation would be a balanced state. And Prussia, isolated in the north, would have the chance she needs to repent her crimes, to learn the ways of peace and to get out of her system the brutal philosophy of rapine on which the glory of the House of Hohenzollern

Peace Bread

The white bread fanatic was a common American sight. We could explain to him at length just what he was losing in calories and pennies by having his bread white. Also how he was increasing the job of his digestive tract. Also how stunid it was to stick to one kind of breadstuff when there was so much delight to be had from variety, ranging all the way from Southern cornbread to buckwheat cakes. It did no good. He and she remained fixed and resolved. There was only one bread worth eating and it was white.

These fanatics will take more passionate joy from Mr. Hoover's present restoration of white bread than from all the other consequences of the armistice. We can see them gloating, wide-eyed, over a large, dank slice cut from a freshly baked white loaf. They will never miss any of the substitutes thrust upon us by war. They will never eat a mouthful of them again-if they know it.

All of which is a pity for the rest of the world. White bread is good. (It makes the best of toast, we will concede for the sake of argument.) But there are countless other breads, all with their particular virtues and delights. The war has taught any number of Americans to like them. What we dare much salvage from the blessings of war for the enrichment of peace.

The Lost Provinces

Not even Belgium, unshackled and arising to her feet, holds the same dramatic appeal as the gradual occupation by American and French soldiers of Alsace and Lorraine. The one is the end of a terrible but relatively brief and sudden crime. The other is the climax of but a little less than a half century of living, moving tragedy.

"Citizens possessed of souls and of intelligence are not merchandise to be traded, and therefore it is not lawful to make them the subject of a contract," protested the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine to the Reichstag in 1874. At the National Assembly of Bordeaux in 1871 the lost provinces had already declared their unalterable adherence to France: "We shall follow you with our wishes, and we shall wait, with full confidence in the future, until regenerated France resumes the course of her great destiny."

What a day will be that Sunday when American soldiers, with President Poincaré, Premier Clemenceau and Marshal Foch, enter Metz! What a period of continuous rejoicing these throughout the two provinces! Lorraine and Alsace have waited. And their confidence has been justified. They find themselves reunited to a nation regenerated and immortalized. Their

pride and gladness can know no bounds. It is a family affair, and we Americans can but applaud at a distance. Yet it is a particular source of rejoicing to every American that our troops are accomplishing this reunion, that it was their privilege to make the last glorious offensives which won the final victory on this front. There was a poster painted for the Avenue of the Allies during the last Liberty Loan campaign that showed an American soldier holding two little French girls in his arms -toward their mother. There is literal truth in this, for the friendship of our men with the French children is one of the stanchest friendships of the war. And behind is the scene passing in a hundred villages, in Metz, in Strasbourg -of daughters, freed and happy, re-

turned to their beloved mother.

SHOES & SHIPS & SEALING WAX

AT ST. OMER

At St. Omer my father lies-Big tears roll down from Granny's eyes, But Mother stares and does not weep, She does not pray, she does not sleep.

Yet Granny, every little while, With cheeks still wet will start to smile And croon, as to a child she pressed Up close and warm against her breast.

Jeannot and I steal to her knees And ask who is the child she sees; Quick,-Mother, strange and white,

warns low. "Hush dears! . . . A boy just like Jeannot."

. ISABEL VALLE.

Americans are funny folk. They give their heart's blood to whale daylight out of a people and then sigh like grampuses over what has befallen their foe-

Where, Oh Where!

Where is that man of super honesty

who will admit-That he is dependent on booze; That he couldn't stop smoking if he

wanted to: That he breathed freely once more when he learned he wasn't to be drafted;

grateful; That he believes, without apology, that Charlie Chaplin is funny;

That he gives tips because he is really

That he couldn't possibly write a successful play?

Wilhelm is safe in Holland. His wife lies stricken alone in the palace at Potsdam, and it's almost a shock to realize that he's as much of a mutt as we've always thought he was.

MOTHER GOOSESTEP

"Baa, baa, Wilhelm,
Have you any loot?"
"Ja, ja, a train full.
Ach, das ist gut?
Tons for my Household.
Big loads of pelf,
But none for the people.
Gott mit-myself?"
GEORGIANA P. CHEESEMAN.

"Hope I ain't vindictive or anything," says Uncle Abimelech Bogardus, of Preakness, N. J., "but I do hope the government ain't goin' to ask me to skimp so's we can send food to the Germansnot while I got a litter of respectable young pigs that could stand a lot more | only permitted to look at it before he died.

The Kaiser wants to go to Corfu, dispatches from Holland say, and we are for letting him sail after first mobilizing all the Allied submarines along his route.

The People's War

By Theodore Roosevelt In The Kansas City Star

NOUR years and a quarter have passed since Germany, by the invasion of Belgium, began the world war and made it at the same time a war of cynical of peace. It will take a struggle. But formed of the organized brutality with mete out justice. cooks have learned how. And habits which it was waged and of the fact that the have been formed. We hope for this Kaiser and the leading soldiers, politicians and commercial magnates of Germany had deliberately plunged the world into war because they expected to profit by conquest, while the Socialist party aided and abetted them in the hope of sharing some of the

> The rest of us ordinary Americans were successfully hoodwinked because the facts were concealed from us, but gradually the truth leaked through to us. First, we learned that the stories of the atrocities were true.

Then, although not until much later, we found out that there was ample proof that Germany had brought on the war to gratify her greed for gold and her arrogant and conscienceless lust for world domination.

Finally we were permitted to learn that Germany intended to strike us down as soon as she had made the free nations her victims. Now our troops have played a manful part, a part not only heroic and efficient, but also of decisive consequence in the final drive

And now the German imperial military and capitalistic authority has been beaten to its knees and forced to accept all the terms the Allies have imposed upon it. The wicked men who thought to wade

through a sea of blood to world domination must now bow their heads before the outside people, whom they have so cruelly wronged, and face the sullen distrust and hostility of their own people, whom they misled by promising them a share in the profits of successful guilt. Their doom has come upon them.

A little over a month ago the Administration embarked upon a career of notewriting with Germany, which, if unchecked, might have meant a peace of practical profit to Germany, but the feeling of the American people, especially in the West, showed itself in such direct and straightforward fashion that this effort was soon abandoned.

Moreover, at the recent election, the American people, with the issue squarely before them, declared that they were the masters of their poor servants and not rubber stamps, and that this was the peoples' war and not the war of any one man or any one party, and that loyalty to ourselves and our allies stood ahead of adherence to any

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An Echo

From The Outlook, London) It is a good thing that flabby sentimen talists in this country have got to reckon with the American war spirit which is hardening with every week's contact with Gerin the theatre of war. The old fear that American influence at the peace congress would be on the side of making things easy for the enemy may now be abandoned; our transatlantic allies are out to compel the Hun to pay for his enormities in full. If ample atonement cannot be exacted by the close of the war, punishment will be extended for such a period as may be deemed equitable. This determination is epitomized in an expression recently used by The New York Tribune: "You cannot lock up 65,000,000 Germans, but you can lock them out." It only needs an agreement between the Entente people to have no intercourse with Germans after the war and the punishment is assured.

The New Danger

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: We are not yet out of danger-the danger of overt sentimentality.

We must guard against short memories. Remember, the same Germans raped Belgium, wantonly devastated France, crucified babies, sank the Lusitania, and tortured our own wounded.

Temper mercy with justice. Let us not become the advocate of the

France, Belgium and England have suffered. Let these countries decide the conditions on which Germany may have peace. Germans are the same tricky people now as before the armistice. We have beaten them to their knees. Let us not blindly put faith in those who applauded the violation of treaties and cheered the introduction of poison gas.

We must impress our leaders with the fact that a German, though "reformed," is a German still.

We insist that Theodore Roosevelt be one of our peace delegates. With God's help we shall keep faith with

those who lie "in Flanders fields." SAYERS COE. Bloomfield, N. J., Nov. 18, 1918.

Hun Punishment

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: A day or two ago a traveller announced that he had made the journey from Egypt to Palestine by aeroplane in two hours, whereas it took the Jewish people under the leadership of Moses forty years. A rereading of the story will show that they came to the border of the promised land in about one year. It will show, also, that the Almighty judged them unworthy to enter and kept them marching in the wilderness for thirty-nine more years for the expressed purpose of preventing substantially any of those who were old enough to be responsible at the time of their first year approach to the promised land from ever entering. Even Moses himself was debarred from it and

This ancient judgment seems to point the way for us to-day in dealing with the Hun. The women, the boys and the girls who celebrated with joy the Lusitania sinking, who have acclaimed frightfulness, and above all the men who disgraced humanity and even the harsh laws of war should none of them have the right to land on our shores, let alone become citizens of the Republic, as the people of other

Had the Hun merely fought a war of aggression, keeping within the limits of recognized warfare, bygones might be bygones; but no one to-day will wish to have near him those whose hands are red with the blood of thousands of the women

and children of our allies. Let Congress proceed to consider and pass such laws as shall bar out the sav-

We may safely leave the fate of the hope is that these sane Americans will put up enough of a fight to retain the put up enough of a fight to retain the wrongdoing. Almost from the beginning border of Holland, whose "Tag" is done, to variety of war against the old monotony our government authorities were well in- the court which will undoubtedly sit to Let us give consideration to the pro-

tection of our children from the near approach of his pirate crew and the women who urged them on and applauded their CHARLES E. MANIERRE.

New York, Nov. 12, 1918.

Hail, France!

The following is the translation of a letter ritten to a member of Judge Hughes's firm by lett Farls correspondent. The Tribune editorial forred to appeared on Bastille Day of this year.]

If France in other times has rendered service to America in aiding her to win her independence America to-day allows us, thanks to her glorious intervention, to preserve ours. The French have kept perfect count of it, and their gratitude to your great country will be eternal. If victory smiles upon us to-day, if the Loches cry out for peace, it is to the sublime courage of your soldiers, it is to the marvellous organization of your armies, which has brought this about. All the French people know it and will never forget it.

I had personally the great pleasure of making the acquaintance this summer, in the country where they were in a training camp, of many of your young compatriots. They were originally from Baltimore, Md., and I have never seen young men more polite and more sympathetic. They did their military duty with enthusiasm and

The editorial from The New York Tribune, "Hail, France!" has profoundly touched us; one cannot speak of our France in terms more delicate, more warm and more eloquent. We are proud to be allied to a country which is inspired by such sym-J. M. PAVY.

A Real Christmas for Our Soldiers

To the Editor of The Tribune. Sir: Surely there must be some avail-

able ships now to carry Christmas packages to our boys on the other side-those miserable little 9x4x5 boxes are carrying so little of the wonderful Christmas we are going to enjoy over here. Can't something be organized, some appeal made, that will release a real Christmas ship for those who have made our rejoicing possible? New York, Nov. 12, 1918.

Settled for Life

Mr. and Mrs. Houston left yesterday af ternoon on the four e'clock train, where they will make their future home.

BEWARE THE GUISE OF PITY!



Uncle Sam as Wet Nurse

The Basket of Squalling Balkan Nations Has Been Left on Our Doorstep

By Eugene S. Bagger

To SAY that with the signing of peace | Poland, one of the most powerful member and the returning home of the armies | nations. On the other hand, to antagonise the war will not be over is, of course, a mere commonplace. Destroying the Teutonic military machine was, after all, only | fluence. the most spectacular part of the job. It was not the whole job. After all, everybody in France, in England, in the United States knew even when things looked darkest that the Hun was going to be licked. A German victory was conceivable only in the same sense as the end of the world is

A Racial Tangle

the most difficult, ahead of us is to bring | States has a large population consisting of order and safety into the chaos from which the flame of war shot forth four and a half | the incumbrance of new nationalistic years ago; to straighten out the racial antagonisms springing up in its midst. tangle of Central Europe. The victory of the Allies is, in this respect, a mere preliminary. It means a negative result only: the elimination of the Hapsburgs and the destruction of the pan-German plan of Mitteleuropa. From this to the positive accomplishment, the organization of a democratic, safe and prosperous Mid-Europe, there is still a long road to travel.

The problems facing us are manifold and intricate. Most Americans have only a very hay idea of what sort of Mid-Europe they want to get. As a rule, they have no idea whatever as to how they are going to get it. They ought to remember the unspeakable agonies Europe had to endure throughout the last century only because it lacked the moral courage to face the Balkan problem squarely. If these agonies are not to be repeated on a hundredfold Frenchmen will have to set themselves to studying the Mid-European situation in all its complications and ramifications. Correct diagnosis, in this case, is more than half the cure.

Inevitable Clashes

First of all, there are the conflicting claims of nationality, which do not arise from the wicked, domineering disposition of one race or other, but from inevitable circumstances of history and geography. There are the clashing aspirations of Poles and Ukrainians, of Poles and Lithuanians. There are the manifold troubles of the Jugo-Slavs-the "little Serbian" exclusivof certain old school politicians, the Catholic separatism of a group of Croatians, the danger of isolating the Slovenes in a German-Italian ocean. There is the peril of an Italian-Jugo-Slav disagreement regarding Dalmatia. There is the problem of the access of land-locked peoples to the sea. There is the problem of what to do with the 10,000,000 Magyars, for whom, situated as they are in what is even within its greatly restricted boundaries one of the richest lands of Europe, a place must be found in the new order of things.

All these questions must be answered before the world can call itself safe. And all these questions must be studied by Americans before answers can be found for

Pole vs. Ukrainian

Already trouble is brewing. Withdrawal of the Poles from the Mid-European Union, headed by President Masaryk, is an extremely serious phenomenon if the sentiments expressed in Mr. Paderewski's letter of resignation mirror the attitude of the Polish majority. On the one hand, the Union cannot afford to organize without

the Ukrainians would mean to drive them straight into the Teutonic sphere of in

Reconciliation of Poles and Ukrainians, unification of the Jugo-Slave, are the pivotal conditions of a safe and same Europe. America and the world will not have gained much if instead of Italia irredenta they wi have a Ukrainia irredenta, if Alsace Lorraine is merely to be moved from the banks of the Rhine to the banks of the Dniester. America and the Allies have fought to gain freedom for the "oppressed One of the most difficult tasks, perhaps to make it last. Moreover, the United members of these races, and it cannot afford

We Must Know

There can be no doubt that the people just delivered from the Hun yoke are fully conscious of their obligations toward America. They look up to her as to ther deliverer. Gratitude and common sens prompt them to heed her voice,

But before America can speak she must know. She must have all sides of the several cases presented to her. Now that Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs are gone, the American people can and will be brought alive to the fact that their own safety hinges on peace and justice in Mid-Europe They will recognize that the petty danger must be taken care of without delay-and then the big dangers will take care of them-

Coiled in the Bed

From The Lumberton (N. C.) Roberton Of course, you do not envy Uncle Den Gilchrist (colored) of his bedfellow. Uncle Don says he was waked several nights by something crawling about over his body The rats were bad at Uncle Don's house. which is in the "bottom," and he thought it was rats, and would go back to sleep This thing had been going on almost ever night for a week. One morning Uncle Det removed the cover from his bed and found a large pilot rattlesnake coiled up in his bed. Then he concluded that it was the snake with whom he had been sleeping in a week that had been crawling over him and not rats.

Joyce Kilmer

BECAUSE he was a poet He was not satisfied That fighting men should know it And pass him, in his pride, Who dared not die to show it When Honor was belied.

Because he was a poet His heart made answer clear When Freedom said: "You owe it! Death is not half so dear As Life that fears to throw it Against the levelled spear!"

Because he was a poet Truth spoke to him: "Be strong! Life is a gift! Bestow it In war upon the wrong! Because he was a poet Death was his finest song. WALTER EDWIN PECS